

VARIOUS ASPECTS
OF BYZANTINE INFLUENCE
ON THE LATIN COUNTRIES
FROM THE SIXTH
TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY

KURT WEITZMANN

This paper was given at the Symposium on "The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," held at Dumbarton Oaks from April 29 to May 1, 1965

I. INTRODUCTION

WHEN, not long before the turn of the century, Byzantine art was rediscovered, first by Russian scholars like Kondakov, Ainalov, and others, who realized that their own culture was deeply steeped in the Byzantine tradition, and then also by Western art historians, the latter soon began to re-evaluate the mediaeval art of the Latin West in the light of this rediscovery. While Viennese scholars led by Josef Strzygowski and Parisian scholars led by Gabriel Millet built up the history of Byzantine art proper, Adolph Goldschmidt and his followers established something like a pattern of research in tracing Byzantine sources wherever they could be found in Carolingian, Ottonian, Romanesque, and even early Gothic art. Within the last two generations, European and also, on an ever increasing scale, American scholars and institutions have added greatly to our knowledge of Byzantine monuments. An attempt may now be made to coordinate the results of a vast number of individual observations, to sift them, and to present them in a more systematic fashion.

Byzantine art exerted its strongest, deepest, and most diverse influences upon the Latin West in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. While another study by the author in the present volume centers on certain aspects of this artistic interrelation during these two most creative centuries, it is the aim of the present sketch to outline, however briefly and summarily, the Byzantine influences upon Western art in the preceding centuries, beginning with the sixth. But before I try to discuss the means by which these influences became effective in the West, I should like to reflect on their "variety" and to define their different aspects, which depend on time and circumstances.

1. The historical setting which changes constantly throughout the centuries will have to be taken into consideration. When, for example, we speak of Byzantine influence in the early Christian period, the problem is not that of a flow from one culture into another, because we are still moving within one broad and unified culture. Differences between works of Byzantine and Western art of this period must be treated rather as local variants, a situation which had existed throughout the late Roman Empire when one could justifiably speak of a *Römische Reichskunst*. By the time of Charlemagne, however, the cleavage between East and West had become so deep that one could no longer speak of a unified culture and art. The West had changed fundamentally under the impact of the Germanic invasions, while the East showed a remarkable continuity. Of this the West was conscious and therefore, in order to rebuild Western culture and to revive its art, Charlemagne and many after him looked to the East for guidance. Byzantium no longer provided mere variants, but *exempla*, which were recognized as being superior, and, so to speak, of didactic value. Constantinople set the standards for perfection.

2. When discussing influences, one will have to determine range and intensity in each case in order to see them in proper historical perspective. The most limited case is that of a contact between individual artists, and this I should like to demonstrate with an example from German book illumination. In the Ottonian period, the leading German scriptorium, after the Reichenau, was that of Echternach whose miniature style is very characteristic and, as a whole, rather un-Byzantine. But when the most ambitious of all Ottonian codices was produced—namely, the Gospel book written between 1043 and 1046 for the Emperor Henry III, deposited in the Cathedral of Speyer, and now preserved in the Escorial—a Byzantine artist was engaged to add the heads and hands of Christ (fig. 1) and the Virgin in the two title miniatures. Goldschmidt¹ raised the problem of whether these Byzantine additions were, indeed, contemporary or later, and was inclined to assume a date in the fourteenth century, a view shared by Boeckler.² Yet, neither of these two scholars tried to determine the place which the heads of Christ and the Virgin occupy within the development of Byzantine art. Today we know enough about Byzantine painting to rule out a fourteenth-century date for these heads, which show indeed no trace of Palaeologan style.

The vigorous expression in a strongly modelled face still reveals the tradition of the classicizing Macedonian period as exemplified by a miniature of Christ from a lectionary on Mount Sinai, cod. 204, which may be dated around the year 1000 (fig. 2).³ On the other hand, a medallion of Christ in a twelfth-century icon on Mount Sinai (fig. 3)⁴ reflects a tendency to render the head of Christ in a more standardized, or, as one might call it, canonical form. Stylistically, the head of Christ in the Echternach miniature fits well between the two, and a date about the middle of the eleventh century seems therefore quite plausible. From this analysis we might conclude that a Byzantine migrant artist worked at Echternach, and this would have given the artists a chance to see Byzantine miniatures in the possession of the visitor. This, then, leads to the question of whether the harmonious forms and the classical spirit in the rendering of the Echternach Christ figure as a whole do not reflect some general knowledge of a Byzantine model although the details remain traditional and conform to the vocabulary of the Echternach workshop.⁵ Yet, it must be admitted that in this case the Byzantine influence did not deeply affect other miniatures of the manuscript.

For a deeper infiltration to be achieved, there had to be a predisposition toward an acceptance of Byzantine art forms on a broader basis. Such conditions prevailed in England about the turn of the seventh century. At almost

¹ A. Goldschmidt, *German Illumination, II: Ottonian Period* (New York, n.d.), pls. 57–58.

² A. Boeckler, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III.* (Berlin, 1933), pp. 16–17 and pls. 6–7.

³ V. Benešević, *Monumenta Sinaitica*, I (Leningrad, 1925), p. 47 ff. and pls. 26–28. K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), p. 28 and pl. xxxviii, 211–212.

⁴ Detail of an icon depicting Christ in a medallion between Abraham and Melchisedek. Unpublished.

⁵ One need only compare this Christ figure with that in figure 25, which comes from a Gospel book in Uppsala, likewise written at Echternach for Henry III but slightly later in date (between 1050 and 1056), to realize how much closer to the Byzantine tradition, in proportion and sense of physical reality, the Escorial Christ is.

the same time that a portrait of Ezra was painted at Jarrow or Wearmouth as a title miniature of the so-called Codex Amiatinus (fig. 4),⁶ a portrait of Matthew was painted in a Gospel book at Lindisfarne (fig. 5),⁷ a monastery about forty miles distant. The model for both these miniatures executed in Northumbria was apparently a South Italian manuscript which may very well have been produced by a Greek painter. Obviously the copyist of the Ezra portrait adhered much more closely to the Greek prototype and better understood its corporeal values than did the Lindisfarne artist. But in the process he almost lost his own artistic identity, while the artist of the Lindisfarne Gospels⁸ recast his model in a style which, far from concealing his native Northumbrian training, shows this training put to creative use. The result is a work of art which combines the traits of two contrasting artistic traditions. This example clearly demonstrates that within the same cultural setting the influence of the Byzantine model can assume quite different degrees of depth and intensity, depending not only on the capability but also on the willingness of the copyist to absorb his Eastern model. Byzantine influence at that time was concentrated in England, while there was little of it on the Continent. Not until the twelfth century did it engulf the art of the whole Latin world. Only then did it become an international or, indeed, a supranational force.

3. When studying these problems of influence, one should, for reasons of method, deal with iconography and style separately, because the two may or may not travel together. Quite often they are dissociated, and then Byzantine influence may be apparent in only one of these two aspects. There is, for example, a Gospel book at St. Gall, cod. 51, a product of Irish scribes and illuminators of about or shortly after the middle of the eighth century. Stylistically, this work is thoroughly rooted in the Irish tradition; witness, for instance, in the Crucifixion miniature (fig. 6),⁹ the dissolution of the organic structure of the human bodies and the strongly patterned garment of Christ, which recalls a mummy shroud. Yet, iconographically, this sleeveless garment of Christ can be traced back to the colobium, typical of such Syrian representations of the Crucifixion as that in the Rabula Codex,¹⁰ with which it also shares the imperial purple color. Moreover, the position of the spear bearer on Christ's left side and the sponge bearer on His right can likewise be compared to an early Syrian work of art, a silver plate found in Russia in the Government of Perm.¹¹ Were it not for these iconographical peculiarities, it would not have been possible to trace the East Christian influence in this Irish miniature of St. Gall.¹²

⁶ C. Nordenfalk, *Early Medieval Painting* (New York, 1957), p. 121 and pl. p. 119.

⁷ R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, in: *Codex Lindisfarnensis*, II (Olten-Lausanne, 1960), p. 142 ff.; *ibid.*, I (1956), fol. 25^v.

⁸ Presumably the painter of the Lindisfarne Matthew made use of two different models (Bruce-Mitford, *op. cit.*, p. 151), but this does not affect our present argument.

⁹ J. Duft and P. Meyer, *The Irish Miniatures in the Abbey Library of St. Gall* (Olten-Bern-Lausanne, 1954), p. 100 and pl. XIII.

¹⁰ C. Cecchelli, G. Furlani, and M. Salmi, *The Rabula Gospels* (Olten-Lausanne, 1959), pl. fol. 13a.

¹¹ J. Reil, *Die frühchristlichen Darstellungen der Kreuzigung Christi* (Leipzig, 1904), p. 64 ff. and *passim*; pl. II. Place and date of this plate are still problematic.

¹² For Coptic influence in Irish art, cf. A. Kingsley Porter, *The Crosses and Culture of Ireland* (New Haven, 1931), pp. 18-20, and *passim*.

Conversely, when one looks at a miniature of the Trinity in the Berthold Missal in the Morgan Library, a Weingarten manuscript of the early thirteenth century (fig. 7),¹³ one will immediately recognize in every detail of the drapery and in the modelling and stylization of the faces and body of Christ a careful study and adaptation of Byzantine forms. Yet this particular concept of the Trinity in which God the Father holds the crucified Christ is unknown in Byzantine art, and we can only draw the conclusion that we are dealing here with a German artist who is more interested in the form than in the content and iconography of the Byzantine model. It is not by chance that I have illustrated purely iconographical influences by means of a pre-Carolingian example, and purely stylistic influences by means of a Romanesque example. The two works reflect the preferences of their respective periods with regard to the use of Byzantine models.

Having thus far discussed the various aspects of the Byzantine influence from the methodological point of view, we may now turn to a historical treatment, however brief, by illustrating each period with a few selected examples in order to define the Byzantine influence which operates differently in various epochs.

II. THE EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD

In the Early Christian period the focal points of Byzantine influence in the Latin West were Rome, where between the years 606 and 741 no fewer than thirteen Popes were Greeks or Syrians, and Ravenna, which, for part of the time, actually belonged to the Byzantine Empire. This influence has so far been chiefly illustrated by mosaics, of which an imposing array has been preserved in both cities; but the difficulty in a precise assessment of the relationship between the Eastern models and their Western copies is the complete lack of comparable material in Constantinople where all figure mosaics were destroyed during iconoclasm—a lacuna which can only to a limited extent be filled by the mosaics of Salonica.¹⁴ Yet within recent years new material has been discovered, namely, icon paintings. These promise to be particularly suitable for the investigation of the East-West relationship because a few icons of very high quality, which have come to light in St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai, seem to be products of a Constantinopolitan atelier, while new discoveries in the churches of Rome appear to be native products.

One remarkable find in Rome was made in the Pantheon. Here an icon of the Virgin and Child has come to light (fig. 8),¹⁵ which is obviously a copy of the famous Hodegetria, one of the holiest icons of the Early Christian Church. According to tradition, the Hodegetria was painted by none other than St. Luke and in the fifth century was sent by the Empress Eudocia to Constantinople to be deposited in the monastery of the Hodegon. Since the copy quite

¹³ H. Swarzenski, *The Berthold Missal* (New York, 1943), p. 101 and pl. XLII.

¹⁴ For some very cogent observations on the relationship between Byzantium and the West in the period after Justinian, cf. E. Kitzinger, "Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm," in *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* (Munich, 1958), IV, 1.

¹⁵ C. Bertelli, "La Madonna del Pantheon," *Boll. d'Arte* (1961), p. 24 ff.

assuredly was meant to be recognized by the worshipper as a replica of St. Luke's famous icon, we may assume that its painter tried to follow the iconography of the model as closely as possible. This idea is supported by the fact that the Virgin in the apse of the Church of the Panagia Angeloktistos at Kiti in Cyprus, a work under close Constantinopolitan influence, if not actually executed by an artist from the capital, is very similar to¹⁶ and must be assumed to derive from the same archetype.

It is, however, another problem whether the Roman icon, for which Bertelli proposes, with good reason, a date around the year A.D. 609, when the Pantheon was consecrated as a Christian Church, is an Eastern import or the work of a Roman artist. Perhaps one should not compare stylistically an icon painting with a mosaic which a priori must be assumed to be more abstract on account of the monumental scale and the special demands of the technique. I prefer to introduce, for stylistic comparison, an icon from Sinai (fig. 9),¹⁷ which likewise depicts the Virgin and Child, though of a different iconographic type. Whether this icon is sixth century, as Sotiriou suggested and as I believe myself to be most likely, or whether it is seventh century is difficult to decide in the present state of our scholarship, but, whatever the date, it cannot be very far from that of the icon in the Pantheon. Sotiriou ascribed the Sinai icon to Syria or Palestine, an opinion I once shared;¹⁸ but now I believe with Kitzinger¹⁹ that it belongs rather in the orbit of Constantinople, if it is not indeed a work of the capital itself. What makes this probable is the purity of its Hellenistic style, both in form and in color, a characteristic which is now generally believed not to have survived to the same extent anywhere else at that time.

In comparing the heads of these two Virgins, one impression stands out immediately: the Roman Virgin looks straight into the eyes of the beholder—as does the Christ Child—even with a certain deliberateness, while the Byzantine Virgin²⁰ takes no notice of the worshipper but instead looks away into a far distance, as does Christ. These differences are not to be explained by the style of two individual artists, but are fundamental and general. In the Western picture the Virgin and Christ are intent upon establishing contact with the beholder; in the Byzantine they are aloof and withdrawn, the primary concern of the icon painter being their divinity. I should like to emphasize this point because this very same difference prevails as late as the thirteenth century.²¹ Moreover, both the Virgin and the Child of the Pantheon have a

¹⁶ A. H. S. Megaw and A. Stylianou, *Cyprus, Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes* (New York, 1963), pl. III. In his reconstruction of the Pantheon icon Bertelli has assumed that this Virgin also was a full-length figure (*op. cit.*, fig. 2). Though there is no definite proof, Bertelli's reconstruction seems to me to have a high degree of probability, in spite of the considerable dimensions which it implies.

¹⁷ G. A. Sotiriou, "Εγκανστική εικών τῆς ἐνθρόνου Θεοτόκου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Σινᾶ," *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, LXX (1946), p. 552ff. and pls. xxv-xxvi. *Idem*, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, I (1956), figs. 4-7 and color pl.; II (1958), p. 21f. (Hereafter cited as Sotiriou, *Sinai*.)

¹⁸ K. Weitzmann, *The Fresco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio* (Princeton, 1951), p. ii and pl. x, 12.

¹⁹ Kitzinger, *op. cit.*, (*supra*, note 14), p. 30 and fig. 24.

²⁰ For color reproductions of the Sinai icon, cf. K. Weitzmann, "Mount Sinai's Holy Treasures," *National Geographic Magazine* (Jan. 1964), p. 120. *Idem*, "Die Ikonenmalerei des 6.-12. Jahrh. Sinai," in K. Weitzmann, M. Chatzidakis, K. Miatev, S. Radojčić, *Frühe Ikonen* (Vienna, 1965), p. IX and figs. 1-3.

²¹ Cf. pp. 66, 73, 81 in the present volume.

linear precision in the design of their faces, while the painter of the Sinai icon aims at a predominantly painterly effect, being in this respect still deeply steeped in the Hellenistic tradition. For this reason, I believe with Bertelli and others that the Pantheon icon is the work of a Roman artist who iconographically followed closely a Constantinopolitan model, yet changed it conceptually from a cult image to a votive panel. Here we are at the root of some very basic distinctions which are operative in encounters between Byzantium and the West at all periods.

It is informative to look, from the point of view of these distinctions, at the mosaic art of Ravenna which traditionally has been dealt with by many scholars as a chapter of Byzantine art proper. A new appraisal of it is called for now that the apse mosaic of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai has become available for study in good photographs taken by the Michigan, Princeton, and Alexandria Expedition of the last few years. The fairest comparison is between Sinai and S. Apollinare in Classe: 1) because they are the closest in date, S. Apollinare having been dedicated in 549 and the Sinai mosaic having been executed most likely between 548 and 565; and 2) because both depict in the apse the same subject, the metamorphosis on Mount Tabor. If one compares the two figures of Elijah from this scene—the one in S. Apollinare (fig. 10),²² a bust floating on a cloudbank, and that of Sinai (fig. 11),²³ a full-length figure standing firmly on the ground—the faces will immediately reveal differences of the same nature as the faces of the two Virgins on the icons: the Elijah of Ravenna is designed so that the hair is separated by a sharp line from the face which, for its part, has a graphic clarity, while in the Sinai head the forehead is shaded by the dense hair, and the face casts a shadow on the hair which flows down over the left shoulder. In other words, we find once more the same distinction between a linear style on Italian soil and a painterly style in the Greek monastery. There is also again a conceptual difference, in that the Sinai Elijah, in keeping with the Hellenistic tradition, shows an expression of emotion and great pathos, while the Ravenna Elijah has the conventional frontal gaze which can be found both in the East and in the West as a heritage of the Constantinian tradition. I therefore believe that the Ravenna mosaic was executed by artists trained in Italy and that the Byzantine influence, though not to be denied altogether, is more restricted than has hitherto been realized.

In seventh- and eighth-century Rome, about the time of John VII, a pope of Greek nationality, we see a more direct influence from the East. Greek fresco painters actually came to Rome to decorate the church of S. Maria Antiqua. The main problem to be solved in this case is not so much the intensity of the Byzantine influence, but the provenance of these Greek artists. This problem has been much discussed ever since Myrtila Avery in a memorable study²⁴ tried to prove that they were executed by refugee artists from Alexandria; a

²² F. W. Deichmann, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna* (Baden-Baden, 1958), pl. 391.

²³ G. Sotiriou, "Τὸ μωσαϊκὸν τῆς Μεταμορφώσεως τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Σινᾶ," *Atti dello VIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini*, 1951 (Rome, 1953), II, p. 246ff. and pl. LXXVI b.

²⁴ M. Avery, "The Alexandrian Style at Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome," *Art Bulletin*, VII (1925), p. 132ff.

theory not, however, generally accepted.²⁵ One of the outstanding examples of this particular group of frescoes is the panel which depicts Solomone, the mother of the Maccabees, with her sons (fig. 12).²⁶ Byzantine scholarship in recent years has shown that after the fifth century the real center of the continuation of the classical tradition was Constantinople and no longer Alexandria or Antioch, which had increasingly succumbed to the orientalizing influence of their respective hinterlands. Thus, it becomes much more likely that the Solomone fresco was executed by an artist from Constantinople; its strongly painterly quality, inspired by a Hellenistic tradition, and its high quality, were not equalled about the middle of the seventh century by any other center. When we turn to the fresco of the Crucifixion in the Theodotus chapel, executed in the middle of the eighth century under Pope Zacharias I, we see quite a different style (fig. 13).²⁷ The figures are flat, they have straight contours, and are dressed in monochrome garments whose fold designs have almost lost the connotation of high lights. They are set against a mountainous landscape without any feeling for space or atmosphere. The differences between these two frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua, which are about a century apart, can only in part be explained in terms of an evolutionary process within Roman wall painting and of varying artistic individualities: the main reason for the differences is, I believe, the origin of the two artistic traditions involved.

There is an icon of the Crucifixion on Mount Sinai (fig. 14)²⁸ which has quite a number of features in common with the Crucifixion fresco in S. Maria Antiqua. Not only does Christ wear a similar colobium, but the linear treatment of the long, vertical folds which recede only from Christ's right leg, is, indeed, quite similar; among other details one may compare the stiff pose of the Virgin and John and their full round faces. I have tried elsewhere²⁹ to relate the Sinai Crucifixion to other Sinai icons in the same style and to attribute these icons to Palestine, which is more or less synonymous with Jerusalem. Hence there is a reasonable degree of probability, although no proof, that the fresco in Rome was also executed by a painter from Palestine or, at least, influenced by Palestinian art. From the historical point of view, such a connection is very plausible indeed: at about the same time that the Theodotus chapel was decorated, frescoes were painted, presumably by Palestinian painters, in the lower Church of S. Saba,³⁰ a dependency of the monastery of S. Saba near Jerusalem, and Kitzinger has noticed stylistic affinities between these and the frescoes of the Theodotus chapel.³¹

²⁵ E. Kitzinger, *Römische Malerei vom Beginn des 7. bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1934; diss.).

²⁶ W. de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique* (Rome, 1911), p. 100 and pl. 10. xvii. J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der Kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg, 1916), II, p. 679; IV, pl. 163. Kitzinger, *Röm. Mal.*, p. 8 ff.

²⁷ Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, p. 120 ff. and pl. 10. xxxix. Wilpert, *op. cit.*, II, p. 687; IV, pl. 180. Kitzinger, *Röm. Mal.*, p. 26 ff.

²⁸ Sotiriou, *Sinai*, I, pl. 25; II, p. 39 ff. Weitzmann, *Frühe Ikonen*, p. XI and figs. 6–7.

²⁹ K. Weitzmann, "Eine vorikonoklastische Ikone des Sinai mit der Darstellung des Chairete," *Tortulae = Festschrift für Johannes Kollwitz* (Rome, 1966), p. 317 ff., pl. 80.

³⁰ Wilpert, *op. cit.*, II, p. 761 and *passim*; IV, pl. 188 ff.

³¹ Kitzinger, *Röm. Mal.*, p. 31.

What can be learned from this one instance, and confirmed by many others, is that in the pre-iconoclastic period, and even during iconoclasm, Byzantine art had not yet developed a unified style, and that Constantinopolitan and Palestinian art differ greatly, due to their respective local traditions. The same could easily be shown for Syrian and Egyptian art of these centuries. It is not enough, therefore, when dealing with problems of Eastern influence in this period, to name Byzantine art in general as a source: one should always define as clearly as possible the part of the Eastern empire which exerted the influence.

III. THE CAROLINGIAN PERIOD

Scholarship dealing with the Latin West in the Carolingian period is still faced with basically the same problem of having in each case to define the Near Eastern country to which a Byzantine influence can be traced. Moreover, there is one new aspect to be taken into account, namely, the retrospective element in Carolingian culture and art for which the term "renaissance" is still widely used in spite of attempts to substitute for it the term "renascence" or other similar terms. This renaissance problem has been much debated in connection with the major scriptoria which produced deluxe manuscripts, but here the dilemma lies in the almost total lack of Early Byzantine miniatures suitable for comparison. I therefore prefer to consider another medium, namely ivory carving, of which a fairly large number of specimens is available for comparison in both areas. We can even concentrate on one group, the so-called Ada Group, which comprises the products of Charlemagne's and his successors' court atelier, because in this group all the different styles that models from the different provenances engendered appear with the desired clarity.³² We can omit from our discussion the revival of the Early Christian art of Rome, which, of course, was the predominant factor,³³ and concentrate on the various Eastern influences.

It has been recognized by many scholars that the famous ivory cover in the Vatican which once decorated a Gospel book from Lorsch (fig. 15)³⁴ is based, conceptually and stylistically, on an imperial diptych, such as the so-called Barberini Diptych in the Louvre (fig. 16),³⁵ on which either Anastasius I or

³² A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser*, I (Berlin, 1914), p. 6ff. and pls. I–XVIII. H. Schnitzler, "Die Elfenbeinskulpturen der Hofschule," *Karl der Grosse, Werk und Wirkung, die Ausstellung*, Katalog (Aachen, 1965), p. 309ff. H. H. Fillitz, "Die Elfenbeinreliefs zur Zeit Kaiser Karls der Grossen," *Aachen Kunstblätter*, XXXII (1966), p. 140f. In all essential points my observations are in agreement with the conclusions reached by T. P. Hoving in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis entitled, *The Sources of the Ivories of the Ada School*. I have profited from this thesis which was presented to the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University on October 3, 1959.

³³ One of the best examples is a pair of early fifth-century plaques with six New Testament scenes in Paris and Berlin (W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 2nd ed. [Mainz, 1952], p. 59, nos. 112–113 and pl. 34) which served as a model for a plaque in Oxford (Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, p. 10, no. 5 and pl. III).

³⁴ Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, I, p. 13, no. 13 and pl. VII. H. Schnitzler, "Die Komposition der Lorsch Bildtafeln," *Münch. Jb. Bild. Kunst* (1950), p. 26ff.

³⁵ Volbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37, no. 48 and pl. 12 (with a more complete bibliography).

Justinian is represented in the center, in a place corresponding to that of the triumphant Christ on the Vatican ivory cover. Yet, stylistically the Carolingian ivory harks back to a model which must have been of a more refined style than the Barberini Diptych, the point of origin of which is still disputed, some attributing it to Alexandria and others to Constantinople. The dense and smoothly designed folds which clearly reveal the structure of the body are elements of a classicizing style which by the sixth century—the presumable date of the model—had survived in such relative purity only in Constantinople. We assume this model to have been in a style akin to the ivory plaque of an archangel in the British Museum (fig. 17),³⁶ the one ivory over whose Constantinopolitan origin scholarship seems to be in full agreement. But this comparison also shows that the Lorsch plaque was made by a Carolingian artist who, notwithstanding the great refinement and delicacy of his design, has started on the road toward a more decorative and more abstracted treatment of folds and a slight weakening of the structure of the body.

About thirty years ago Gombrich published an ivory pyxis in Vienna (fig. 18)³⁷ which he attributed, in my opinion correctly, to the Ada School.³⁸ Its Early Christian character is still so strong that Goldschmidt apparently had considered it to be Early Christian and had excluded it from his Corpus. The scene of the Nativity, and especially the figure of Salome with the withered hand, occurs with such similarity on an Early Christian ivory pyxis in Berlin (fig. 19),³⁹ that a product of the same Early Christian school, though not the Berlin pyxis itself, must be presumed to have served the Carolingian imitator as a model. Now the Berlin pyxis belongs to a group whose main representative is the so-called Murano Diptych in Ravenna,⁴⁰ which with good reason has been attributed to a Syro-Palestinian school.⁴¹ We conclude that in this instance the Carolingian artist used a Syro-Palestinian model.

The Ada Group of ivories includes yet another pyxis, now in the British Museum (fig. 20),⁴² which is of a totally different character as far as the structure of the human body is concerned, although for the details of the folds of the garments both artists use the same Ada School conventions. The figures of the London pyxis are thick-set, flat, and angular in contrast to the slender, tubular, and agile figures of the Vienna pyxis. This difference of style is not due to the individuality of the artist, but to his use of a very different kind of model—in this case a typical Egyptian pyxis like the sixth-century one in

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 57, no. 109 and pl. 32.

³⁷ E. Gombrich, "Eine verkannte karolingische Pyxis im Wiener Kunsthistorischen Museum," *Jahrb. Kunsth. Samml. Wien*, N.F., VII (1933), p. 1 ff.

³⁸ Volbach, *op. cit.*, p. 88, no. 199 and pl. 58. Although he dates the pyxis in the seventh or eighth century, the specific elements of the Ada School are, in my opinion, so strong as to exclude a date before the end of the eighth century.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 81, no. 174 and pl. 55.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 64, no. 125 and pl. 39.

⁴¹ C. R. Morey claims for the whole group connected with the Murano Diptych an Alexandrian origin ("The Early Christian Ivories of the Eastern Empire," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 1 [1941], p. 50 ff. and fig. 17).

⁴² Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 11, no. 6 and pl. iv.

Bonn (fig. 21).⁴³ Here Christ, in the scene of the Raising of Lazarus, is rendered in proportions very similar to those of the Christ Healing the Leper on the Carolingian pyxis. The iconographic type with the cross staff held in the veiled hand is also very similar.

Yet, while among the treasures accumulated by Charlemagne and his successors in the imperial collections and in the monasteries Constantinopolitan, Syro-Palestinian, and Egyptian works of art of the Early Christian period were, so it seems, quite readily available, it should not be concluded that Carolingian artists concentrated purposely or exclusively on models from the past only. On the contrary, we would expect that, as in the preceding and also in the ensuing centuries, the primary influence came from contemporary Byzantine art. In three connected articles Boeckler tried to solve this knotty problem for the Ada manuscripts,⁴⁴ but his predicament was that he was faced with an almost total absence of comparable Byzantine manuscripts from the early ninth century, i.e., the time of iconoclasm. He therefore made all of his comparisons with Byzantine manuscripts dating either from the late ninth century, like the well known Gregory Manuscript in Paris, or from the tenth century, like the Gospel book of Stauronikita. He assumed that they stand in a direct line of descent from early ninth-century manuscripts with no essential change in style.⁴⁵ However, there is good reason to assume that, after the end of iconoclasm in 843, major changes took place in the atmosphere of a revival movement,⁴⁶ and, therefore, an equation of late ninth- and tenth-century miniatures with lost ones from the period of iconoclasm seems to me not only unwarranted, but a source of misjudgments. The great difficulty with which the historian of Byzantine art is confronted is the dearth of works of art in almost all media—not only miniature painting—from the period of iconoclasm, and his consequent inability to attribute to the eighth century and the first half of the ninth those which may have escaped destruction.

We have already discussed an icon of the Crucifixion from Sinai with a colobium-clad Christ (fig. 14), an icon which we ascribed to about the middle of the eighth century on the basis of its iconographic and stylistic affinity with a fresco in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome (fig. 13). A second icon of the Crucifixion at Sinai (fig. 22) has some iconographic similarities: one may compare, for instance, the closed eyes of Christ, the two thieves with their arms tied behind the cross-bars, the diagonally placed busts of angels, and the sun and the moon. In other respects, however, the composition differs: Christ wears a loin cloth, slit at the right thigh; the gestures of the Virgin and John express grief and

⁴³ Volbach, *op. cit.*, p. 87, no. 194 and pl. 58. K. Weitzmann, "Observations on the Cotton Genesis Fragments" in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), p. 125 and fig. 23.

⁴⁴ A. Boeckler, "Die Evangelistenbilder der Adagruppe." *Idem*, "Die Kanonbögen der Adagruppe und ihre Vorlagen," *Münchner Jahrb. der Bild. Kunst*, N.F., III/IV (1952/53), p. 121 ff.; V (1954), p. 7 ff. *Idem*, *Formgeschichtliche Studien zur Adagruppe*, Abh. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., N. F., 42 (Munich, 1956).

⁴⁵ See the author's review of Boeckler's third study in: *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, LI (1958), p. 410 ff.

⁴⁶ K. Weitzmann, *Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance*, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Heft 107 (Cologne, 1963).

mourning; and the inscription of the Virgin is changed from Η ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ to ΜΗΤΗΡ ΘΕΟΥ. Sotiriou⁴⁷ dated this icon, I believe correctly, somewhat later than the Crucifixion in which Christ wears the colobium, and proposed a ninth-century date. Stylistically, however, it does not continue the Palestinian tradition of the former and we must admit that we are not yet in a position to make any suggestion as to its possible place of origin.⁴⁸ The flatness of the drapery, especially in the figure of St. John, and the anatomically unclear design of Christ's body point to an origin earlier than the end of the ninth century, at which time a more classical style with a more organic and corporeal rendering of the human body had become fashionable again. I therefore propose a date in the first half of the ninth century.

There is no precise parallel for this composition of the Crucifixion known to me in the Latin West, but its various elements can, individually, be related to Western works of art of the early ninth century. The thickset proportions of the Christ on the Cross and the rather fleshy treatment of the body may be compared with Christ figures on Ada ivories.⁴⁹ None of them can be related directly to our Sinai icon; nevertheless they are products of the same *Zeitstil*. This suggests—and it is the point I wish to make—that some Ada ivories depend on contemporary Eastern models of a style of which the Sinai icon, in the present state of our knowledge, seems to be the sole survivor.

Immediately after the end of iconoclasm there was an outburst of artistic energy, and Byzantine art came into sharp focus. Artists did not merely reinstate the type of religious art which iconoclasm had disrupted: in the illustration of the New Testament especially a new iconography came into being in which the liturgical element was increasingly emphasized, and for this iconography a new and revitalized classicizing style was created. This invigorated Byzantine art of the Middle Byzantine period almost immediately caused repercussions in the later phase of Carolingian art, a point I should like to illustrate, once more, with the help of an ivory of the Ada group.

In its upper zone a plaque in the Vatican (fig. 23)⁵⁰ depicts in a very hieratic composition the appearance of Christ to the two Marys after the Resurrection (Matt. 28:9). Christ standing in the center in a frontal position is flanked by the two kneeling Marys, their almost perfect symmetry adding to the ceremonial character of the scene. In early Christian art, both in the East and in the West, Christ was depicted approaching the two Marys from the left while they both come from the right and fall down before Him.⁵¹ The hieratic composition becomes the familiar one in Middle Byzantine art and everything seems to suggest that it was invented only after the end of iconoclasm. A miniature in the Gregory Manuscript in Paris, cod. gr. 510, painted between

⁴⁷ Sotiriou, *Sinai*, I, fig. 26, and II, p. 41.

⁴⁸ Sotiriou tried to connect it with the Cappadocian frescoes of the tenth century and also with Egypt, without, however, quoting any Egyptian parallel. These attributions do not seem convincing to me.

⁴⁹ E.g., Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, pl. v, 8.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 18, no. 26 and pl. XIII.

⁵¹ For the iconography of this scene in Early Christian art, cf. note 29.

880 and 886, is one of the earliest examples of this new compositional scheme, which is known in Byzantine art as the "Chairete" (fig. 24).⁵² The lection containing the passage from Matthew is read on the Sabbath of Holy Week. It is in this realm of illustrations for the most important pericopes, that most of the new creations in post-iconoclastic iconography took place. A scene like the Chairete indicates the late-Carolingian artist's concern with such new creations, a concern of which the plaque in the Vatican is not the only instance.⁵³

To sum up this discussion of Byzantine influence in the Carolingian period, it has, I hope, become clear that any further investigation will have to deal with three major aspects: 1) the copying of pre-iconoclastic art as an expression of the renaissance or revival movement, 2) the copying of Byzantine art of the iconoclastic period, an aspect not yet satisfactorily explored, and 3) the copying of Byzantine art of the post-iconoclastic period in late Carolingian art, an aspect whose exploration promises more concrete results.

IV. THE OTTONIAN PERIOD

In the Ottonian period the problem of Byzantine influence in the Latin West becomes in some respects simplified and more sharply focussed. No longer do we have to deal, as in the Carolingian period, with a multiplicity of influences from various parts of the East. Since, in the period of the Macedonian emperors, Constantinople had established herself as the arbitrator in all matters concerning art, from now on all Byzantine waves would emanate from Constantinople. Moreover, the Byzantine influence becomes iconographically focussed; within the imperial sphere it centers on the ceremonial portrait, within the religious sphere on the liturgical picture. It exerts itself primarily in iconography and to a somewhat lesser extent in style. The Ottonian period was one of the most creative periods of Western art, and it possessed a firmly established, expressive style which as a whole was less affected by the Byzantine style than was the case in the Carolingian period.

In a Gospel book, written for the Cathedral of Goslar at the instigation of Henry III between 1050 and 1056 and now preserved at Uppsala, we see a frontispiece miniature in which the enthroned Christ places crowns on the heads of the Emperor Henry III and his wife, the Empress Agnes (fig. 25).⁵⁴ In concept and form this type of coronation picture, which is the visual expression of the idea of the monarchy being instituted by the grace of God, is a Middle Byzantine invention. In tenth-century representations Christ is depicted standing while crowning the imperial couple; for instance, on a famous ivory plaque in Paris we see Romanos II and his wife Eudocia crowned in this

⁵² H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1929), pp. 13-14 and pl. xxi.

⁵³ For a discussion of the Metz ivory (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, I, p. 45, no. 80 and pls. xxxii-xxxiii), cf. K. Weitzmann, "The Origin of the Threnos," in *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York, 1961), p. 482 and pl. 163, fig. 9.

⁵⁴ St. Beissel, *Das Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III. aus dem Dome zu Goslar* (Düsseldorf, 1900). Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, II, pl. 63.

manner.⁵⁵ In eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantine miniatures, however, we also find Him enthroned in the Coronation scene; witness, for example, the frontispiece of a Gospel book in the Vatican Library, cod. Urbin. gr. 2 (fig. 26),⁵⁶ in which Christ, surrounded by the personifications of Eleemosyne and Dikaiosyne, places crowns on the heads of the Emperors Alexis I and John II Comnenus (1092-1118). It is obvious that the German artist adapted the compositional scheme from a Byzantine model similar to this, but it also should be noted that he did not copy it slavishly in either iconography or style. In the Byzantine miniature the emperors face the beholder with an air of self-assurance, as being the representatives of Christ on earth, but the German Emperor and Empress bow toward Christ in a pose of humility. Another conscious deviation from the Eastern model consists in the fact that Christ is seated on a globe instead of on a throne, a feature familiar in Western, but not in Byzantine art. Stylistically the scriptorium of Echternach, in which the Goslar Gospels were executed, was so firmly established in its own tradition that it was little affected by the Byzantine style. However, it may be remembered that at the very beginning (p. 4) I argued in favor of a Byzantine artist having made additions to some miniatures of the Codex Aureus in the Escorial, a sumptuous manuscript which was produced in Echternach only a few years earlier, between 1043 and 1046. Thus, it becomes quite possible that the artist of the Uppsala codex, when designing his Coronation miniature, was in a position to profit from the presence of the Byzantine guest in that monastery.

In the Ottonian period, miniature painting had become more than ever before the chief carrier of Byzantine influence and the problem arises whether it is possible to determine, with some degree of accuracy, the type of illustrated text which most likely exerted the strongest influence. We might expect that imperial scriptoria like those of Reichenau or Echternach, which produced deluxe copies for members of the ruling house, would have tried to gain possession of Byzantine models which were in the same class as the sumptuously illustrated German court manuscripts. In the Middle Byzantine period, the Gospel lectionary had become the most precious type of manuscript; it had become a liturgical implement which was used in the performance of the Little Introitus, and for this reason was provided with covers lavishly decorated in gold, enamel, and precious stones.⁵⁷ Full-page miniatures of the twelve great feasts of the Church were the principal decoration of the manuscript itself. We shall try to show that it was this set of liturgical pictures which exerted a particularly strong influence on Western art.

There is a Reichenau manuscript in Wolfenbüttel, characteristically enough a Gospel lectionary, with full-page miniatures, the last of which represents the

⁵⁵ A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II (Berlin, 1934), p. 35, no. 34 and pl. xiv. A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), p. 116 and pl. xxv, 2.

⁵⁶ C. Stornajolo, *Miniature delle Omilie di Giacomo Monaco e dell' Evangelario greco Urbinato*, Cod. e Vat. selecti, ser. min., I (Rome, 1910), p. 19 and pl. 83. A. Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 119 and pl. xxiv, 2.

⁵⁷ For the significance of the illustrations of the Greek lectionary, cf. K. Weitzmann, "The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations," in *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, ed. by M. P. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren (Chicago, 1950), p. 151 ff.

Death of the Virgin (fig. 27)⁵⁸ in a manner which was recognized long ago as being derived from a Byzantine model. This early recognition was due to the fact that the front cover of this lectionary is adorned with a genuine Byzantine ivory plaque showing the very same subject (fig. 28).⁵⁹ There exists quite a number of Ottonian manuscripts with Byzantine ivories on their covers and the most splendid of these ivories, likewise depicting the Death of the Virgin, decorates the Gospels of Otto III (fig. 29).⁶⁰ The problem is whether the Wolfenbüttel miniature is a copy of the ivory on the cover of the very same manuscript, or whether it is based on a Byzantine miniature now lost. It will be noticed that in the miniature, Christ, standing behind the bier, holds in His hands the soul of the Virgin in the form of a baby and is about to give it to one of the two angels swooping down with veiled hands. In the Wolfenbüttel ivory the soul is represented a second time, being held by the angel at the right, so that actually two successive phases of the episode are here depicted. This deviation would seem to indicate that this particular ivory was not the direct model, since the version of the miniature, with both angels swooping down, has a parallel on another ivory, namely the one in Munich. However, the Munich plaque could hardly have been the model either, because here the composition is reversed and so condensed that there is no space for any apostle to stand at the right side of the bier.

Actually, the closest compositional parallels are Byzantine miniatures like that of the so-called Phocas Lectionary in the Treasure of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos (fig. 30).⁶¹ Here we find combined the two features which occurred separately in the two ivories: the Virgin lies toward the left and there are two angels, arranged symmetrically, swooping down. But a comparison of the two miniatures also reveals differences in iconography and style which give us an insight into the mind of the Western copyist and the reasons for his intentional changes. In both miniatures, St. Paul stands at the foot of the Virgin's bier; but, while in all Byzantine compositions St. Peter has his place at the bier's head, he is, in the Reichenau miniature, moved aside in order to make room for St. John, who in Byzantine art is separated from the other apostles and depicted leaning over the bier in order to look straight into the Virgin's face. The Western artist's intention was obviously to show St. John as out-ranking St. Peter. The manner in which the most beloved disciple touches the Virgin's shoulder is typical of Western art. Such a homely feature would not be permissible in true Byzantine art where a hierarchical order always prevails. Stylistically, the expressive—or, one is even inclined to say, expressionistic—element asserts itself in the Reichenau miniature in the exaggerated gesturing of Christ, who lifts the Virgin's soul as high as possible and at the same time turns His head emphatically toward the Virgin. By contrast, the Byzantine

⁵⁸ O. Lerche, *Das Reichenauer Lectionar der Herzog-August-Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel* (Leipzig, 1928), p. 32 and pl. 16.

⁵⁹ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Byz. Elfenb.*, II, p. 70, no. 176 and pl. LIX.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 25, no. 1 and pl. 1.

⁶¹ K. Weitzmann, "Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lawra," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VIII (1936), p. 92 and pl. III, 1.

artist—and this is true also of the carver of the Munich ivory who, within limits, dramatized the scene—never loses his sense of hieratic dignity and imbues the divine figures with a sense of detachment.

One of the best-known cases of Ottonian book illumination borrowing from the Byzantine is a Crucifixion miniature in a sacramentary of the school of Ratisbon which was made for Emperor Henry II and once belonged to the Cathedral treasure of Bamberg, but is now preserved in the State Library in Munich (fig. 31).⁶² Here, scholarship was guided by the fact that the inscription $\text{H CTA}\theta\text{P}\omega\text{CIC}$ was also copied from the original picture. Once again we assume that the model was a miniature from a Greek Gospel lectionary, because the painterly manner in which the high lights are treated in the Munich Crucifixion is very Byzantine indeed and not usual in Ottonian book illumination. Yet, unfortunately, no comparable Byzantine Crucifixion miniature from this period survives and we must resort, for iconographical purposes, to an approximately contemporary Byzantine ivory.

A triptych at Liverpool, whose central plaque depicts the Crucifixion (fig. 32),⁶³ is one of several ivories of the so-called "Triptych Group" which possess all the essential features of the Ratisbon miniature: Christ is standing erect on the suppedaneum; His eyes are closed; He is clothed in a loin cloth with three trumpet folds, and the design of His diaphragm is marked by a sharp, curved line; the Virgin extends both hands toward Christ and St. John holds his right hand against his chin, in a pensive rather than sorrowful gesture, while his left hand holds a Gospel book. But, although the iconography is very close indeed, the stylistic differences are all the more noticeable and important. In the miniature the draping of the Virgin's veil—a Byzantine maphorion—is not quite understood by the copyist. Other divergencies are not errors, but intentional changes. Thus, the arms of Christ, which in all Byzantine Crucifixion scenes of this period are straight and horizontal, are here shown in a sagging curve. The German artist uses this device to emphasize the suffering on the Cross, thereby foreshadowing a typically Western development which will find its fulfillment in the mystical Crucifixes of the fourteenth century. To put even greater emphasis on pity and sorrow as key notes of the Crucifixion, the disks of the sun and the moon are replaced by busts of weeping personifications, a motif common in the Latin West since the Carolingian period.⁶⁴ Western also are, of course, the four evangelist symbols which emerge from the corners of the frame, their wings being hardly distinguishable from the acanthus foliage.

The impact of the full-page miniatures of Byzantine lectionaries was not confined to one or two stray copies that reached southern Germany. As the most lavishly decorated liturgical book of the East, the lectionary caught the attention of illustrators in many scriptoria, even beyond Germany. In order

⁶² Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, II, pl. 75. W. Messerer, *Der Bamberger Domschatz* (Munich, 1952), p. 32 and color pl. II.

⁶³ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Byz. Elfenb.*, II, p. 66, no. 155 and pl. LIV.

⁶⁴ Cf., e.g., the Crucifixion miniature of ca. A.D. 868 in the Gospels of Otfried of Weissenburg (Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, I, pl. 62).

to demonstrate the triumphal progress of Byzantine lectionary miniatures through the Western World, I should like to discuss one instance from English book illumination. The famous Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, written and painted in Winchester for the abbot of that name (963–984) and now preserved in the British Museum, contains among its splendid full-page miniatures one which precedes the benedictions for the Third Sunday in Advent (fig. 33). This miniature has been variously interpreted. Homburger⁶⁵ explained the figure of Christ, who shoulders “a cross-staff and holds a codex, as being assimilated to the Christ of the Ascension.” However, Christ is obviously not moving upward but downward; this is indicated by His posture as well as by the tilting of the mandorla in which He stands. Warner⁶⁶ and, following him, Wormald⁶⁷ have associated this Christ, I believe more correctly, with His Second Coming, though both of them realized that the type of Christ is unusual for this subject.

The East as well as the West had established pictorial traditions for the Second Coming of Christ: In the East He was depicted seated on a throne in Heaven, while in the West He was shown either on a throne or on a globe. A Carolingian miniature in Brussels⁶⁸ may be quoted as a striking example of the latter type. The Christ in the Ethelwold Benedictional obviously does not derive from this tradition but must be understood as a substitution for the enthroned Christ, drawn from a totally different source.

The model was, in my opinion, a Byzantine miniature of the Anastasis and, to be more specific, an Anastasis of the earliest type, with Christ turned toward Adam whom He is raising out of Hell.⁶⁹ Christ, stepping forward and looking down, invites comparison with that of an Anastasis miniature in a Greek lectionary fragment in the Leningrad Public Library (cod. 21), a work of about the middle of the tenth century (fig. 34).⁷⁰ Even such details as the fluttering end of the mantle with its upward sweep, or the inclination of the mandorla, which is adjusted to the axis of the figure, are similar in the two miniatures. Whereas the Byzantine Christ has only one attribute, namely a scroll, because with the other hand He is raising Adam, the English Christ,

⁶⁵ O. Homburger, *Die Anfänge der Malschule von Winchester im X. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 14 and pl. 1.

⁶⁶ G. F. Warner and H. A. Wilson, *The Benedictional of Saint Aethelwold* (Oxford, Roxburghe Club, 1910), p. XIX and pl. fol. 9v.

⁶⁷ F. Wormald, *The Benedictional of St. Ethelwold* (London, 1959), p. 20 and pl. 3.

⁶⁸ W. Koehler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*, III, Pt. I: *Die Gruppe des Wiener Krönungs-Evangeliars* (Berlin, 1960), p. 90 and pl. 44. A. M. Friend, “The Picture of the Second Advent, Frontispiece of St. Jerome’s Vulgate Gospels, A.D. 384,” *Am. Journ. Arch.*, XXX (1926), pp. 88–89.

⁶⁹ For the various iconographic types of the Anastasis, cf. C. R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection* (New York, 1914), p. 45 ff. K. Weitzmann, “Aristocratic Psalter and Lectionary,” *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, XIX (1960) (in honor of E. T. De Wald), p. 98 ff. E. Lucchesi-Palli, in *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*, s.v. “Anastasis.” For a derivation of the Ethelwold miniature from an Anastasis, cf. also W. Paeseler, “Die römische Weltgerichtstafel im Vatikan,” *Kunstgesch. Jahrb. Bibl. Hertiziana*, II (1938), p. 336 ff. and figs. 283–284, who introduced the tenth-century fresco from the Lower Church at S. Clemente in Rome as a parallel.

⁷⁰ C. R. Morey, “Notes on East Christian Miniatures,” *ArtB*, XI (1929), pp. 53 ff., 57 and fig. 63. He dates the miniatures in the eighth century, whereas I have proposed and still maintain a date in the middle of the tenth century; see Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, p. 59 ff. and figs. 392 to 398; *idem*, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 57), p. 161 and pl. XIX.

uses both hands for attributes, holding a codex in one and a cross-staff in the other. In Byzantine art, it is only in the early representations of the Anastasis (for instance, in a ninth-century fresco in S. Maria Antiqua)⁷¹ that Christ is shown holding a scroll, while in the course of the tenth century the scroll is replaced by a cross. This, then, would mean that the English illuminator had an almost contemporary Greek model before his eyes in which this change had already taken place.

The Anastasis is the greatest of all the feast pictures of the Orthodox Church. In a lectionary it has its place at the very beginning, accompanying the Easter pericope from the first chapter of John. Since it holds such a prominent place, it could easily have caught the attention of the English copyist. But this formal aspect is not sufficient to explain why the English artist used a Byzantine Anastasis as his model. The ideological parallel between Christ raising Adam and the forefathers out of Hell, according to the Gospel of Nicodemus, and the Raising of the Dead out of the tombs on the Day of the Last Judgment, according to the canonical Gospel, is self-evident and has found a pictorial manifestation in the great mosaic of the west wall of the Church of Torcello where the Anastasis is placed above the Second Coming. We must therefore credit the English illustrator, who used the Christ of the Anastasis as a model for his most unusual rendering of the Second Coming, with a full understanding of the meaning of the Byzantine Anastasis in relation to the Last Judgment.

I am well aware that I have barely touched upon even the major aspects of our problem. The few examples I have chosen do not illustrate fully the Byzantine influences in the Latin West either in the Ottonian or in any of the preceding periods I have discussed. I have been able to give only a few characteristic examples which would reveal for each period different preconditions and varying degrees of preparedness and willingness to adapt Eastern models. As for the Ottonian period, it must be realized that the Byzantine influence in German and English manuscripts is confined to individual pictures within larger cycles. The copyists were very selective and chose Eastern models with great care. Why were they attracted at all by Byzantine art during a period in which the Latin West, especially Germany and England, had a highly developed art of its own? Evidently, the chief attraction of the Eastern models was not their "style," for this was so thoroughly transformed by the Western artists that in some cases one could hardly trace an Eastern model at all were it not for the iconography. What apparently made a great impression on the West was a certain type of Byzantine picture endowed either with a ceremonial dignity that appealed to the autocratic rulers of the Ottonian and Salian dynasties or with the iconic quality found in the feast pictures. These, in the course of a long tradition, had acquired certain dogmatic and liturgical overtones and expressed them visually in such balanced and harmonious compositions that they assumed a kind of canonicity.

⁷¹ Cf. the table in Morey, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 69), p. 46.

V. THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Having tried to sketch in barest outline the Byzantine influences upon the Latin West in the Early Christian, Carolingian, and Ottonian periods we have now reached the point where we must ask the following questions: 1. in what way did the Byzantine influence in the twelfth century continue the trends of the previous epochs; 2. in what way did it differ in essence and scope, and 3. how deep and how broad was the Byzantine influence compared with the previous periods? It is not difficult to prove that in the twelfth century the Byzantine influence had a far greater intensity and a wider range than in any period before or after, and that it became effective at different levels and included a variety of purposes.

The first level, that of the most direct impact of Middle Byzantine art, is found in those centers where Byzantine artists were commissioned to execute large projects in their own style and to emulate the high artistic standards of Constantinople. The focal points of this impact were Sicily under the Normans and the city republic of Venice, and mosaic was the principal medium in which this aspiration found its fulfillment in pictorial form.

The second level of penetration of Byzantine art can best be studied in Italian panel painting of the Ducento. This branch of painting had spread into every province and major city of Italy and absorbed the Byzantine manner so thoroughly that Renaissance theorists, reflecting on this phenomenon, called it the *maniera greca*. In this outburst of artistic activities in the field of panel painting, Byzantine icons played a major role. Apparently, however, not many Greek originals had reached Italy and their style became known mostly through intermediary copies.

The third level is reached when iconography and style become more and more dissociated from each other and when style becomes, if not the exclusive, certainly the primary concern of the artist. What attracted the Western artist to Byzantine painting was its organic understanding of the human figure; a kind of drapery which clings to the body and thus helps to make its structure comprehensible; and, finally, the rendering of well-modelled heads with faces that reveal consciousness of self as well as awareness of the outer world, in contrast to the staring eyes in Ottonian faces. All these features have to do with a trend toward a greater realism which in sculpture could be achieved through the study of readily available classical marbles. In the case of painting, however—with Pompeii not yet excavated—Byzantine art, which was recognized as the heir of the classical tradition, served as an intermediary. At this juncture in the history of art, Byzantine painting, when reduced to easily applicable formulae, became a generally recognized source of instruction for the Western artist, and its influence was more far-reaching and more penetrating than ever before.

It is this level of Byzantine influence which Koehler, with his fine sense of stylistic analysis, demonstrated so clearly in the memorable lecture he gave at the first symposium held at Dumbarton Oaks in 1940, and in offering a

few supplementary remarks, I should like to utilize the same example he chose. He analyzed the drapery of a few seated figures in the miniature of a lectionary which was executed at the very end of the eleventh century at Cluny and is now in the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (fig. 35).⁷² He noticed that its system of drapery folds, pressed tightly against body and limb, has extremely close parallels in Byzantine book illumination. A seated evangelist from a Greek Gospel book, once in the School in Phanar at Istanbul, but now in the Museum of Cleveland (fig. 37),⁷³ and quite surely the product of a Constantinopolitan atelier of approximately the same period as the Cluny miniature, leaves little doubt that the Eastern capital was the center from which the style had spread as far as Burgundy. In addition, Koehler has clearly shown that the identical formulae of drapery spread over the whole of Europe and became, so to speak, the fashion of the day.

Koehler reproduced only the lower half of the scene, thereby indicating that he wanted to focus on formal problems only. The miniature depicts Pentecost⁷⁴ and the figure in the center is Peter. Since Pentecost is one of the twelve great feasts and the text a Gospel lectionary, the question must be raised whether or not the model was a Greek lectionary, i.e., the same type of *de luxe* manuscript which had such a profound effect on Ottonian book illumination. Yet, when we look at a typical Byzantine representation of Pentecost of about the same period—for example, an iconostasis beam in St. Catherine's at Mount Sinai (fig. 36)⁷⁵—it will immediately become clear that the artist from Cluny did not use a Byzantine Pentecost as a model, either as a whole or in detail. The most striking difference, aside from the appearance of Christ in heaven, is the placing of Peter in the absolute center of the Burgundian composition—a feature of typically Roman iconography⁷⁶—whereas in Orthodox art he has to share the center with Paul. But where did the Cluny artist see the scheme of drapery which applies specifically to a frontal figure? Koehler himself has offered the clue, relating the figure of Peter almost point by point to the Christ in Majesty from the apse of the church at Berzé-la-Ville.⁷⁷ It is indeed the most likely assumption that the figure of Peter is modelled on that of Christ. The disciple at the right, on the other hand, resembles the evangelist of the Phanar Gospels (fig. 37) more than any of the apostles in the Pentecost of the Sinai beam (fig. 36); and between him and Peter there is a youthful

⁷² Koehler, "Byzantine Art in the West," in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 1 (1941), p. 69 and fig. 8. Ph. Lauer, *Les Enluminures Romanes* (Paris, 1927), p. 153 and pl. XLVII, 2. F. Mercier, *Les primitifs français. La peinture clunysienne en Bourgogne à l'époque romane* (n.d.), p. 133 and pl. xcix. J. Porcher, *Medieval French Miniatures* (New York, 1959), p. 24 and text fig. 20. M. Schapiro, *The Parma Ildefonsus. A Romanesque Illuminated Manuscript from Cluny and Related Works*, Coll. Art Assoc. Am. (1964), p. 43 ff. and fig. 37.

⁷³ Koehler, *op. cit.*, p. 77, and fig. 16. Ch. Diehl, "Monuments byzantins inédits du onzième siècle," *Art Studies*, V (1927), p. 9 and fig. 3. *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Catalogue of Exhibition), Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, 1947), p. 137 and pl. xcvi, no. 700.

⁷⁴ For a fuller discussion of the iconography of this miniature, cf. Schapiro, *op. cit.*

⁷⁵ Sotiriou, *Sinai*, I, fig. 94; II, pp. 104-105.

⁷⁶ For a discussion of a case in which this feature of Western iconography appears in the Crusader art of the Holy Land, cf. K. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth-Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," *ArtB*, XLV, 1963, p. 182 and fig. 4.

⁷⁷ Koehler, *op. cit.*, fig. 9; Schapiro, *op. cit.*, p. 45 ff. and figs. 44-48.

apostle in a strange costume with a kind of mantle knotted over the breast which is not the appropriate dress of an apostle. Here a very different relationship to Byzantine models is involved. It is possible to generalize and say that while the Ottonian artist was concerned about the meaning of the Byzantine model and impressed by its liturgical significance and iconic dignity, the Romanesque artist, in contrast, follows a Western iconography but revitalizes his figures artistically by using Byzantine formulae for draperies and heads. These he must have gathered from various sources, having either a library with illustrated Greek manuscripts available or using a model book. Both these sources seem to have played an important role.

In any event, as Koehler also realized, illustrated manuscripts must have played a decisive role in the spread of Byzantine forms, and it is in this medium that we may expect to find the closest analogies between Eastern and Western work.

Koehler made a rather striking comparison between the Matthew of the Phanar Gospels and the Matthew of a Roman Giant Bible in the Vatican Library, cod. lat. 12958 (fig. 38),⁷⁸ which comes from the Pantheon and can be dated between 1125 and 1140. As is often the case in a copy, the artist tends to overemphasize specific elements in his model, witness the excessive accumulation of folds over the thighs. At the same time he fails to achieve the refinement of his model, witness the fact that the expressive, animated face of the Byzantine evangelist has in the copy given way to a blank stare. Here we may raise the question as to what actually were the channels by which Byzantine artistic forms reached the West on the broad scale we know this influence assumed. The way for a fresh approach to the problem of transmission has been paved by Hugo Buchthal's study of Latin manuscripts which were produced in the Holy Land during the Crusader period, first at Jerusalem and later at Acre.⁷⁹

There is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris a Gospel book (cod. lat. 9396) beautifully written, in golden letters, between 1130 and 1135 in the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and decorated with a portrait of St. John (fig. 39),⁸⁰ which, as is self evident, is a very close copy indeed of a Byzantine model. It is not as spirited in design as the Roman copy in the Pantheon Bible, but rather the product of a timid, though competent, artist who followed the model much more closely and succeeded in conveying the sensitive expression of the face which was lost in the Roman copy. The example is not unique since two more Gospel books with miniatures of the evangelists from the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre are preserved in Western libraries. These manuscripts may have come to the West quite early,⁸¹ while, on the other hand, we know of very few Greek originals which reached the West before Italian humanists began to collect them. We are led to believe that the

⁷⁸ Koehler, *op. cit.*, p. 77 and fig. 15. P. Toesca, "Miniature romane dei secoli XI e XII. Bibbie miniate," *Rivista del R. Ist. d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, I, 1929, pp. 69ff., 76 and fig. 3. E. B. Garrison, *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting*, IV, 2 (Florence, 1961), pp. 118ff., 132 and fig. 87.

⁷⁹ H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957).

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 23ff. and pl. 33a. Ph. Lauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 104 and pl. LXVIII, 1.

⁸¹ Buchthal, *op. cit.*, p. 25ff. and pls. 34-48.

Crusades had a great deal to do with the newly awakened interest in Byzantine art and that the Crusader ateliers in the Holy Land were in large measure responsible for the transmission of Byzantine art forms to the West. The Crusades were a supranational enterprise and apparently artists from many countries worked in Jerusalem and Acre. Thus, the spread of the Byzantine wave throughout Europe may be due, at least in part, to a direct connection with the Holy Land, and one need not always think of such Western intermediaries as Montecassino or Cluny, although their role in the dissemination of Byzantine forms should in no way be underestimated. Here a new perspective is opened to future research.

Yet, not every Byzantinizing work of art of the twelfth century in the Latin West should be related to the international wave of the early twelfth century, the extent of whose impact Koehler was the first to recognize. Not only was there an undercurrent of Byzantine influence throughout the twelfth century, but toward the end of the century, i.e., in the period of the last Comnenian emperors, the influence gained such momentum and achieved once more such intensity that one can justifiably speak of a second wave, clearly distinguished from the first in scope and purpose. It too spread in all directions and affected the art of most countries of Europe.

A German illuminated manuscript may serve as a typical example of the second wave. In the Evangelistary of Speyer Cathedral, now in Karlsruhe (cod. Bruchsal I), which was executed by an artist from the Upper Rhine at the very end of the twelfth century, the essence of the new style can be particularly well comprehended in the miniature of the Nativity (fig. 40).⁸² Contrary to the artists of the first wave, who were striving toward solidity and plasticity of the body, those of the second wave were interested in contorted poses like that of the Virgin in this miniature and in draperies with fluttering seams which create an impression of restlessness and nervous behavior. Again, as in the case of the Pentecost scene in the Cluniac manuscript, we find that the illustrator did not copy a Byzantine model in its entirety. He used the formulae of the late Comnenian style only for figure and drapery designs, his purpose being to enliven a composition which has its roots in Western Romanesque art. In no Byzantine composition would equal space have been allotted to Joseph and the Virgin. In Byzantium this would have been felt to be an offense against the established hierarchical order with which Byzantine art is so deeply concerned. Nor is the type of the Virgin appropriate to a Byzantine Nativity scene, in which she is normally depicted lying on a bed. The crossing of her arms and her endeavor to reach upward with her right arm are, however, typical of a Byzantine Virgin standing under the cross. Such a detail gives us an insight into the working process of the Western artist who at times would copy only part of a figure from a Byzantine model.

Moreover, there is still another interesting detail which reveals the Western artist's mentality. On top of the cave, we see beside the two typical shepherds

⁸² K. Preisendanz and O. Homburger, *Das Evangelistar des Speyerer Domes* (Leipzig, 1930), p. 12 and pl. 9.

of the Annunciation a third boyish figure holding a leaping dog under his left arm. This motif has nothing to do with an Annunciation, but may be derived from a Byzantine ivory relief, such as a tenth-century plaque from a casket in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London,⁸³ in which putti are playing with animals. With an almost archaeological interest in Byzantine art the Rhenish miniaturist copied from Byzantine ivories as well as miniatures. To him the Byzantine style was the fashion of the day, but the iconic quality of his models seems to have interested him little. At this point Eastern and Western artists, endowed with different temperaments and different points of view toward religious art, have already begun to part company.

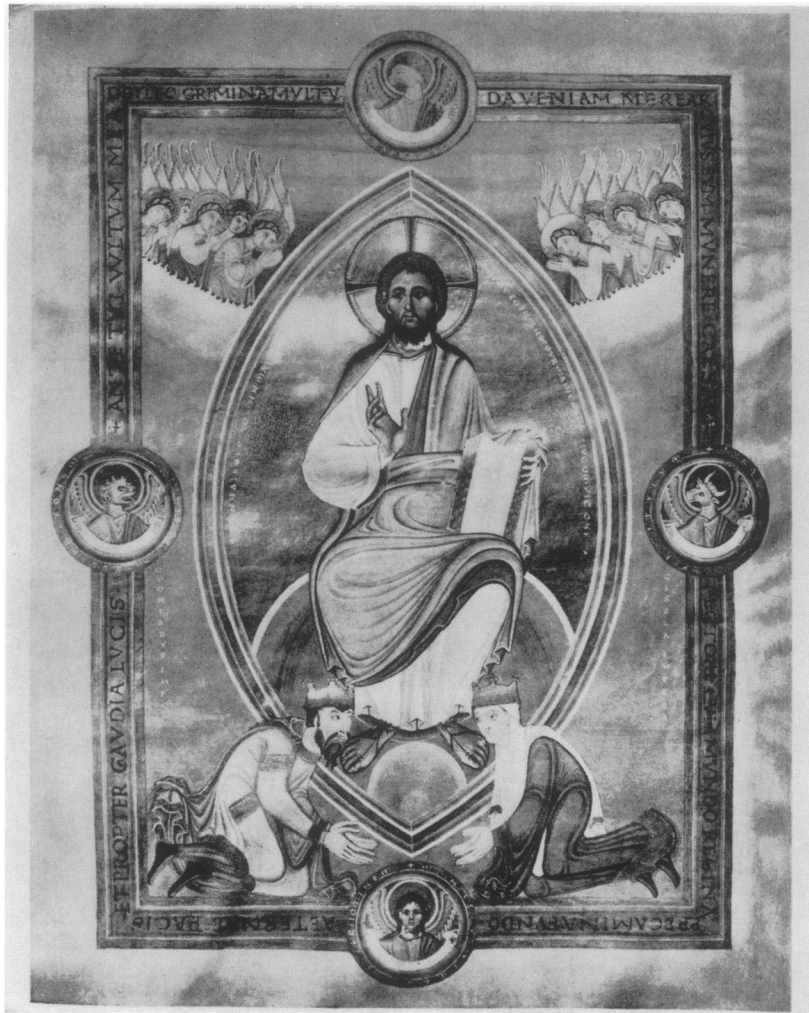
To become aware of this one need only compare the miniature from Speyer with a genuine Byzantine work of the same period. An icon of the Annunciation in the Sinai Monastery (fig. 41)⁸⁴ is, I believe, the first icon of the late Comnenian period which can, with some degree of certainty, be attributed to Constantinople proper. It contains all the mannered motifs which attracted Western copyists—the whirling drapery of the angel is an example—but the elegance of the movements and the alertness and sensitivity of the facial expressions are qualities of a highly aristocratic style which remained inimitable.

It is a strange phenomenon, and not easy to explain, that the Latin West should, in the twelfth century, have adapted the vocabulary of Byzantine art with such energy and intensity. Part of the explanation lies in the Western artist's admiration for Byzantium's high standards of technical perfection; part also in his realization that Byzantium had, to such a high degree and particularly in the medium of painting, preserved the classical tradition. Moreover, the sublimity of iconic art which had played a primary role ever since Byzantium had first begun to exert its influence upon the Latin West, was still, even in the twelfth century, an important factor, although no longer a dominating one, as it had been in the preceding periods. A more systematic and more fully documented study of the influence of Byzantine painting upon the whole of Western Europe remains to be written.⁸⁵

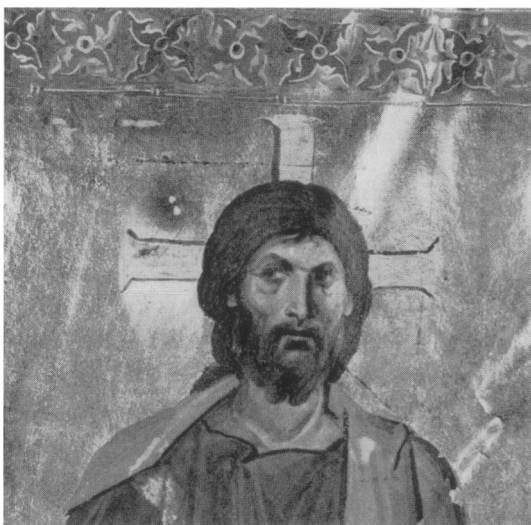
⁸³ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Byz. Elfenb.*, I (Berlin, 1930), p. 30, no. 21 and pl. IX, 21c. K. Weitzmann, "Abendländische Kopien Byzantinischer Rosettenkästen," *Zeitschr. für Kunstgesch.*, III (1934), p. 103 and figs. 6, 21.

⁸⁴ K. Weitzmann, "Eine spätcomnenische Verkündigungssikone des Sinai und die zweite byzantinische Welle des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem* (Berlin, 1965), p. 299ff. *Idem.* in *Frühe Ikonen*, p. XVI and fig. 30.

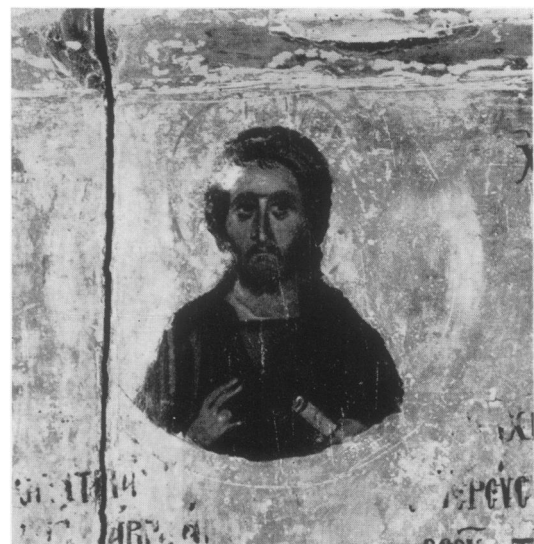
⁸⁵ The photos of figs. 2, 3, 9, 11, 14, 22, 36, and 41 were made by the Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton Expedition to Mount Sinai.



1. Escorial. Codex Aureus, Fol. 2v, Christ Enthroned



2. Sinai. Cod. 204, Fol. 1r, detail, Christ



3. Sinai. Icon, detail, Christ in Medallion



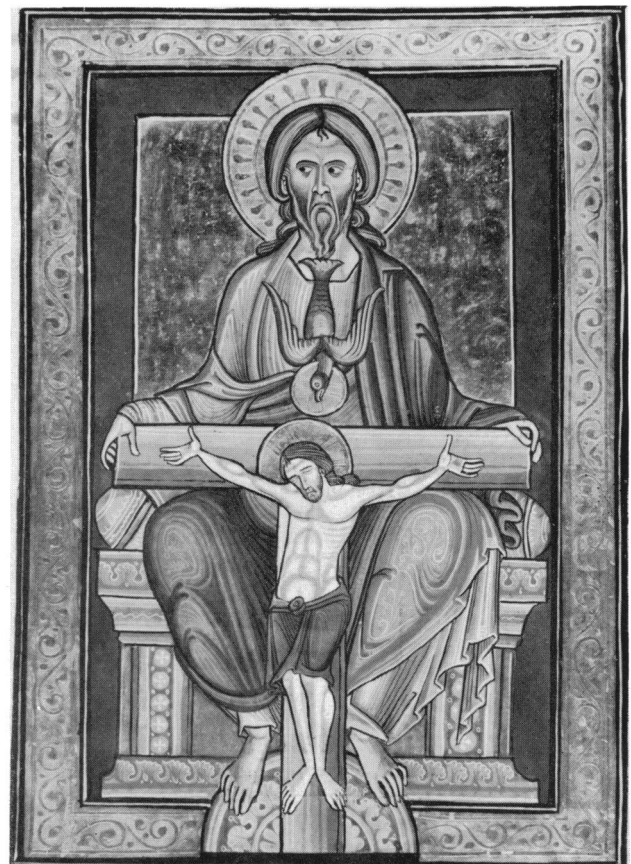
4. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.
Codex Amiatinus I, Fol. 5^r, Ezra



5. London, British Museum. Cod. Cotton Nero D. IV,
Fol. 25^v, St. Matthew



6. St. Gall. Cod. 51, pag. 266, Crucifixion



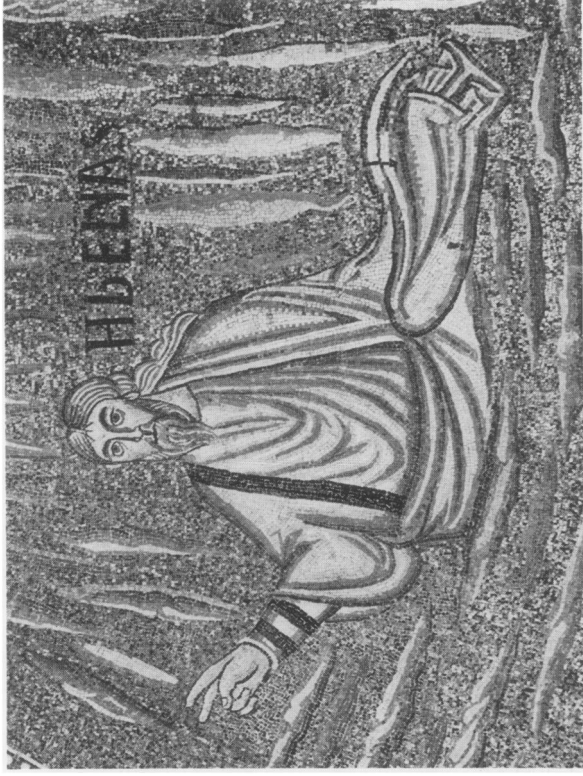
7. New York, Morgan Library. Cod. M 710,
Fol. 132^v, the Holy Trinity



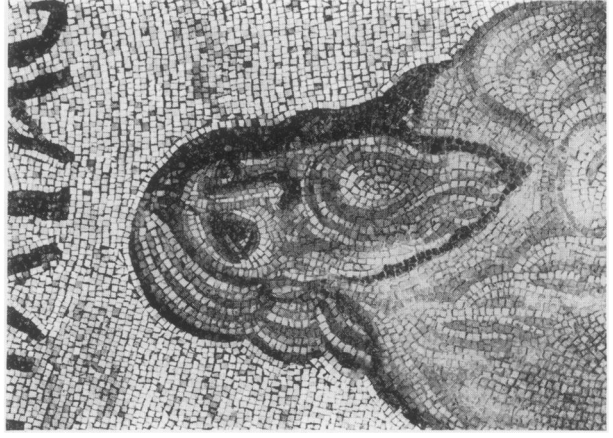
8. Rome, Pantheon. Icon, Hodegetria



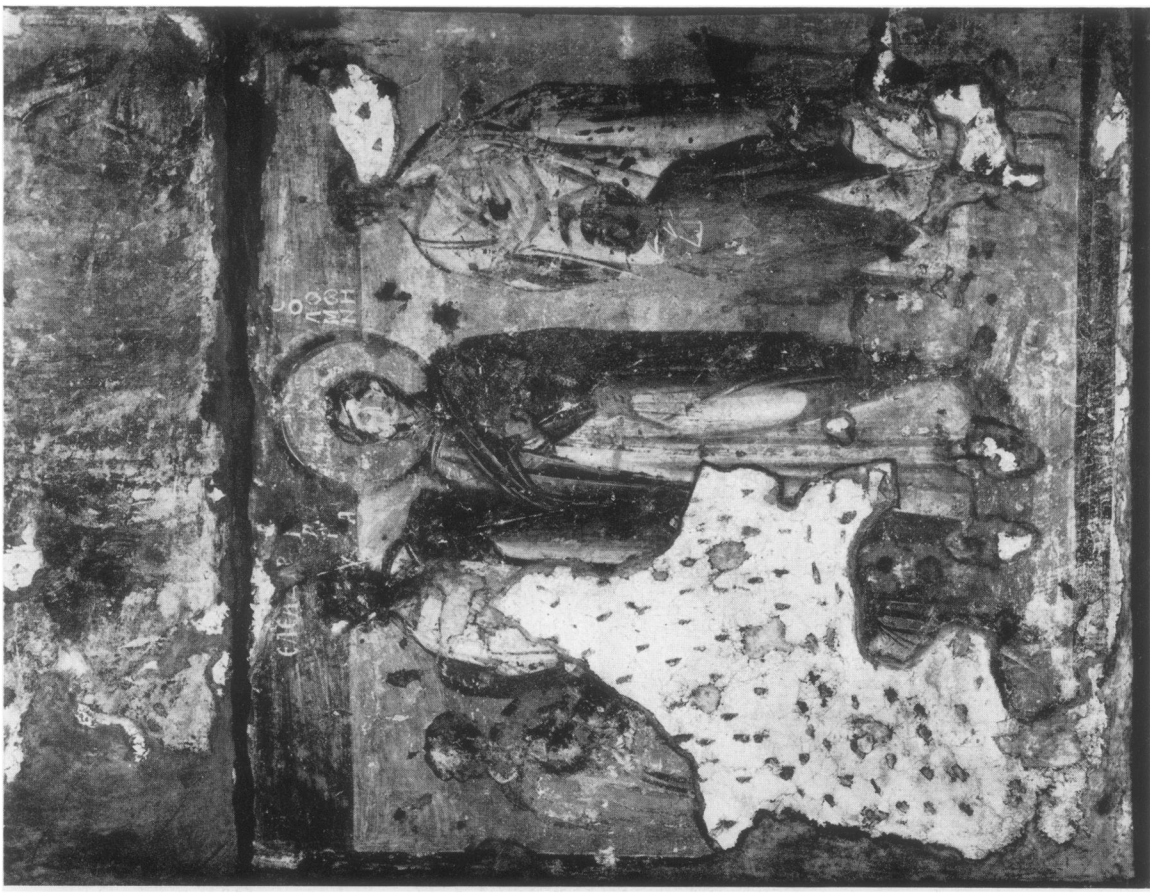
9. Sinai. Icon, detail, Virgin and Child



10. Ravenna, S. Apollinare in Classe. Mosaic, detail, Elijah



11. Sinai. Mosaic, detail, Elijah



12. Rome, S. Maria Antiqua. Fresco, the Maccabees



13. Rome, S. Maria Antiqua. Fresco, Crucifixion



14. Sinai. Icon, Crucifixion



17. London, British Museum.
Ivory, Archangel



15. Rome, Vatican. Ivory Book Cover from Lorsch



16. Paris, Louvre. The Barberini Ivory Diptych



18. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Ivory Pyxis, Nativity



19. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Ivory Pyxis, Nativity



20. London, British Museum. Ivory Pyxis, Healing of the Leper



21. Bonn, Provinzialmuseum. Ivory Pyxis, the Raising of Lazarus



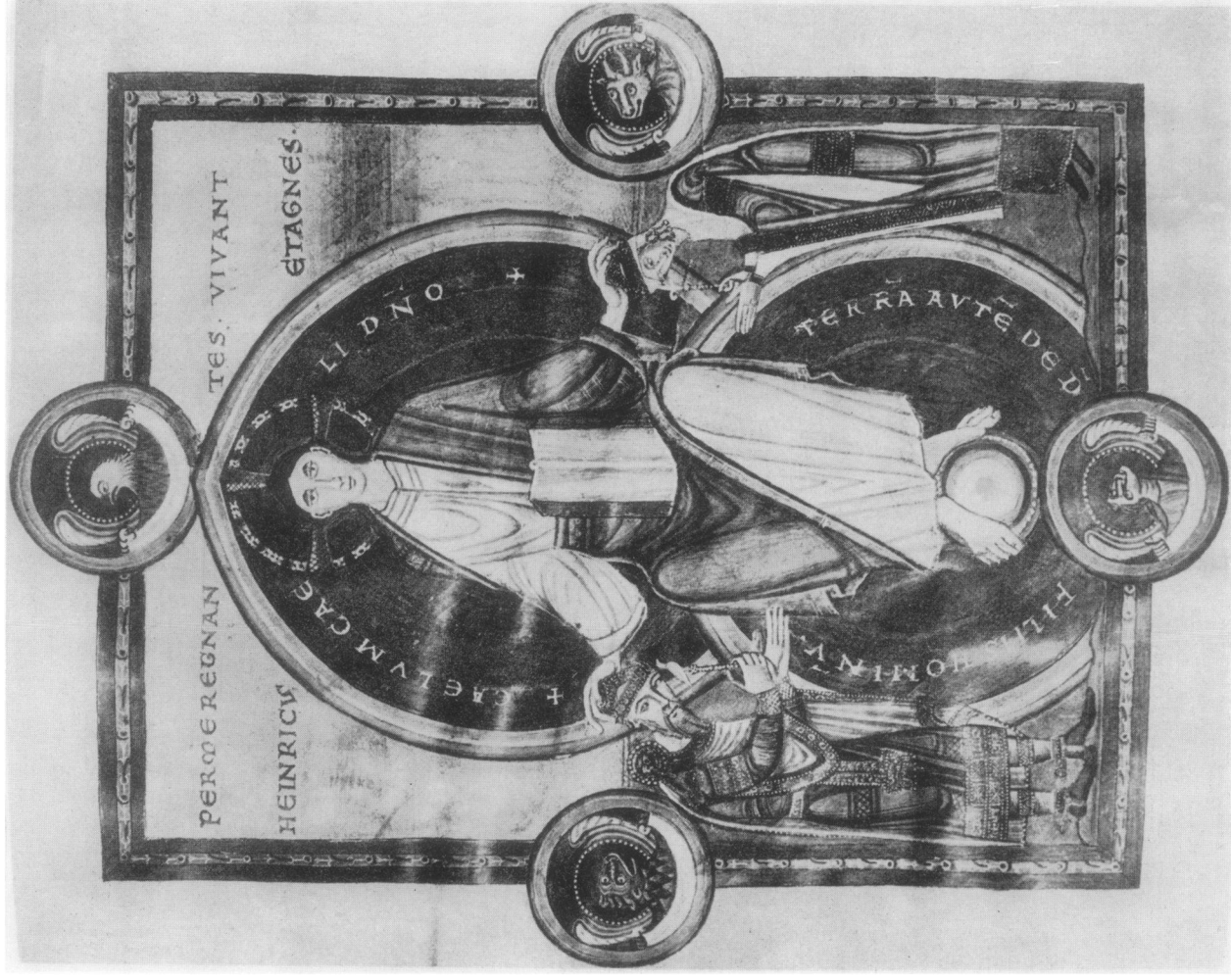
22. Sinai. Icon, Crucifixion



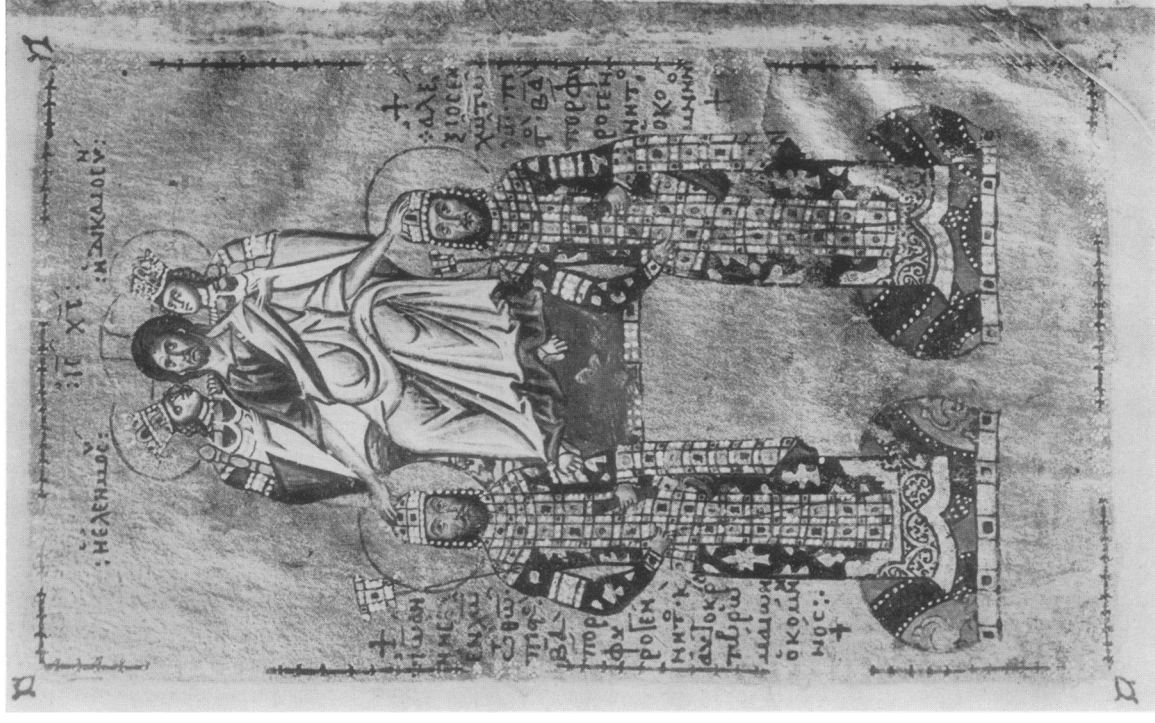
23. Vatican, Museo Sacro. Ivory, detail, Chairete



24. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Cod. gr. 510, Fol. 30v, detail, Chairete



25. Uppsala, University Library. Gospel, Fol. 3v, Coronation of Henry III and Agnes



26. Vatican. Cod. Urbino. gr. 2, Fol. 19v, Coronation of Alexis I and John II Comnenus



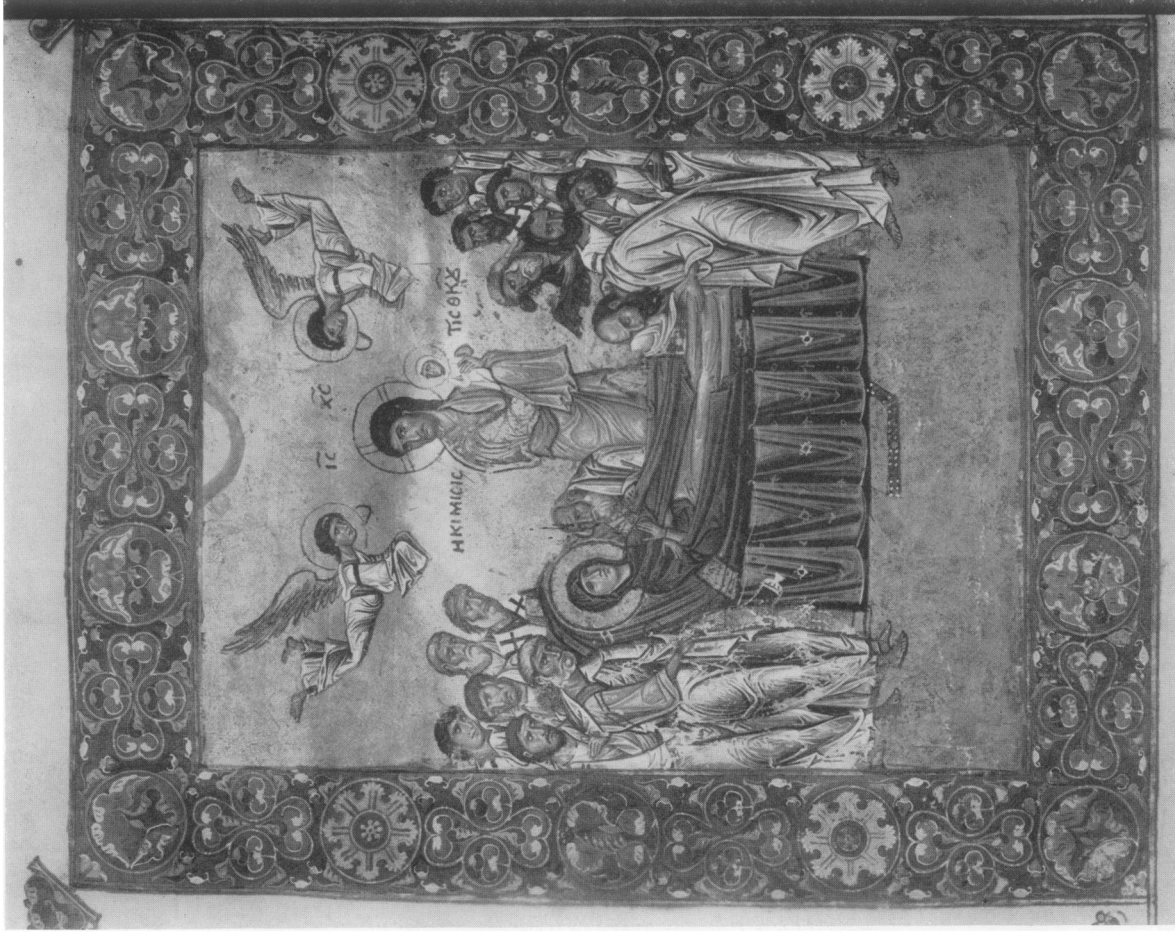
27. Wolfenbüttel. Cod. 84.5 Aug. fol., Fol. 79v, Death of the Virgin



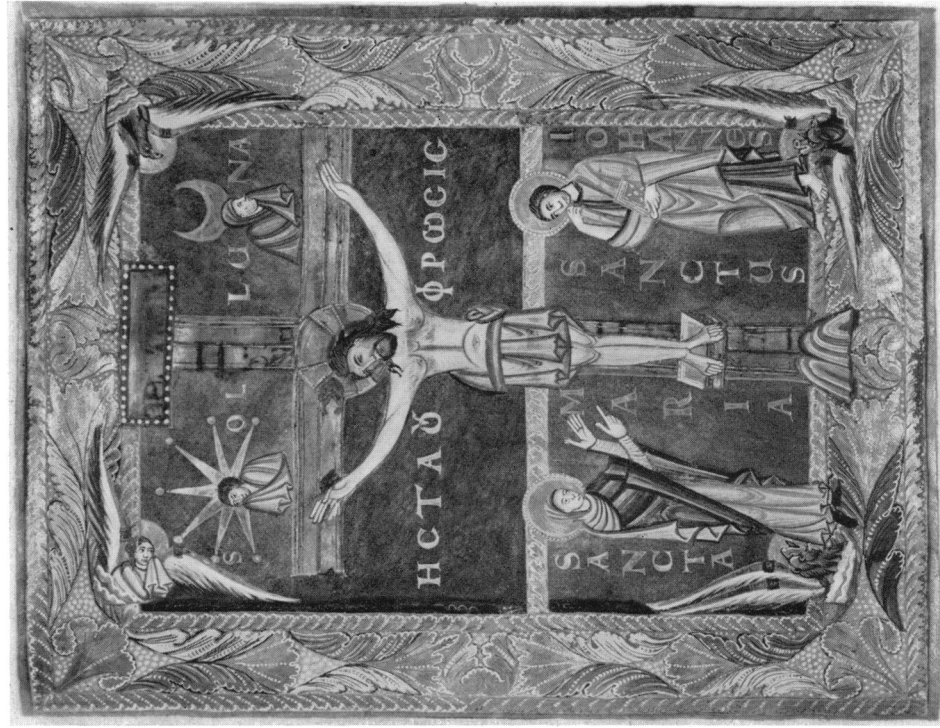
28. Wolfenbüttel. Cod. 84.5 Aug. fol., Front Cover, Ivory Panel with Death of the Virgin



29. Munich, Staatsbibliothek. Cod. lat. 4453, Front Cover,
Ivory Panel with Death of the Virgin



30. Mt. Athos, Lavra, Skevophylakion. Lectionary, Fol. 134v, Death of the Virgin



31. Munich, Staatsbibliothek. Cod. lat. 4456, Fol. 15r, Crucifixion



32. Liverpool, Museum. Center of Ivory Triptych, Crucifixion



33. London, British Museum. Cod. add. 49598, Fol. 9^v,
the Second Coming of Christ



34. Leningrad, Public Library. Cod. 21, Fol. 1^v, Anastasis



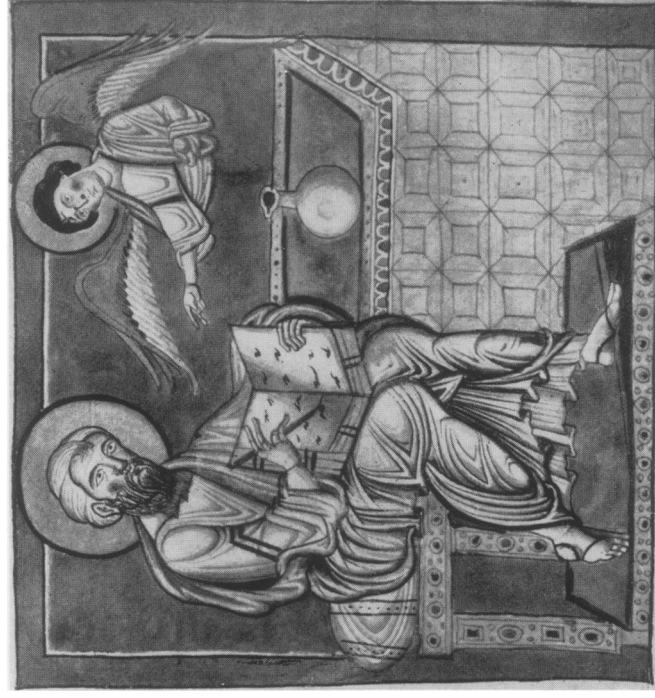
35. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Cod. nouv. acq. lat. 2246,
 Fol. 79v, Pentecost



36. Sinai. Iconostasis Beam, detail, Pentecost



37. Cleveland, Museum. Phanar Gospels, St. Matthew



38. Vatican. Cod. lat. 12958, Fol. 299r, St. Matthew



39. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Cod. lat. 9396, Fol. 1v, St. John



40. Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek. Cod. Bruchs. I, Fol. 5v, Nativity



41. Sinai. Icon, Annunciation